

ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES

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The boy is expected

to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,¹⁰ or on customs in connection with death.¹¹

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.¹² When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereses*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The *alfereses* remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The *alfereses* were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the *alfereses* enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

¹⁰ Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 339.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 360-362.

¹² *Ibid.*, 2: 364-365.

¹³ The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231-243.

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part.

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• [592] The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was

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scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised

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structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 *zontles* considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

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The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

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Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

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The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the

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prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the *cabildos* and *principales* of the

[P 201-B]

423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The
head of the house is the owner of the parcel
and he can manage it as he pleases. Refer-
ring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1980,
p. 11) states that:

[428] In general, land is "owned"—that is, con-
trolled—by the household; as long as the son
lives with the father, he may speak of "his
land," but in fact he works the land with his
father, planting what and when his father de-
cides. The son who lives apart is usually given
a piece of land by his father, and he acquires
new land which he, in turn, will pass on to
his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connec-
tion is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), how-
ever, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenan-
go contain parcels belonging to private
owners and parcels used in common, which
are administered or given by the local au-
thorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*)
informs us that: "Recently, land has been
bought on the edges of the town by each
of the two barrios for the exclusive use of
their members, while in the irrigable area
the holdings of members of the two barrios
are separate and watered by separate ca-
nals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region,
distributed according to the Programa Agra-
rio de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914
but in some communities not put into prac-
tice until after 1980. These lands are ad-
ministered by the "comite ejidal" of each
municipio, which gives to any individual
who needs land the permission to cultivate
it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred
in any way, because they are considered
common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a mar-
riage is dissolved, the woman goes back to
her parents without taking anything but

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421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.

462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 Only the family shares in the rest of the
592 labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Oxchuc

TABLE 3—DOMESTIC COMPOSITION

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	Number	Percentage
Nuclear Families:		
Man, wife, no children	4	8.2
Man, wife, children	19	38.8
Man, 2 wives, no children	1	2.0
Man, 2 wives, children	5	10.2
Widow, children	2	4.1
Man, wife, children not own	2	4.1
	33	67.4
Extended Families:		
Man, wife, married son and wife	6	12.2
Man, wife, married daughter	2	4.1
Widow, married son	6	12.2
Widow, married daughter	1	2.0
Man, wife, married son, and married grandson	1	2.0
	16	32.5

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596 throughout the region. There are also compound families in which other members, married or widowed, from the same patrilineal nucleus, plus their children, share the same house or the same kitchen.

[129] Table 3, taken from J. Nash (1959, p. 2), was compiled from data gathered in Oxchuc parajes, where we had our headquarters.

Of the 16 extended families, 13 are formed by married sons living in the parents' house; the married daughters living with their parents derive from the custom that the son-in-law spends a period of service in his father-in-law's house during the first months of marriage.

• 592 These types of family composition continue even in acculturated communities like Aguacatenango. According to B. Metzger (1959, p. 8), of the 174 homes that constitute this village, 121 are nuclear and 53 are extended families; of the latter, 15 are formed by parents living with their married sons and 10 are formed by widows living with an unmarried son. There are only two instances of parents who live in an unmarried daughter's house. Married brothers very seldom live in the same house.

000 Though the nuclear family predominates,

[P.216-C]

Though the nuclear family predominates,

591 custom dictates that the house be near mem-
 613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal
 [361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal
 [592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes
 groups of houses in which families com-
 posed of mother, father, uncles, and other
 members of the patriline live are common.
 [351] No fences mark the limits of the property;
 591 their infrequent presence merely keeps the
 592 pigs and chickens under control. This group
 of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by
 people related by kinship, constitutes the
 most important influence in the individual's
 formation, since it is here that he acquires
 his first experiences and cultural values, as
 well as the emotional links that will have
 the greatest weight in his life. This system
 of patrilocal residence is observed all
 through the region, even in compact vil-
 lages like Aguacatenango, where lack of
 space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959)
 tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to
 trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74
 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are
 in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks
 with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the
 same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with
 wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to
 neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type
 591 it is customary to mark family plots by a
 592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance to-
 ward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amate-
 nango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when
 the nuclear family is divided because of the
 marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar"
 or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region)
 is subdivided by another fence that sepa-
 rates the portion now belonging to the new
 family. A door allows easy communication
 between both families. Sometimes, even
 three nuclear families live in a large sitio,
 divided by fences.

583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that follow-
 ing the old traditional to one requiring the

(P. 217-A)

CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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TABLE 1

AGE-SEX MODEL OF MAXIMAL COMPLEMENT OF A HOUSE

Absolute Age $\pm$ unmarried vs. married

Sex Indifferent	-20						+20			
	Minimal Relative Age--2 yr. units						(Minimal) Relative Age--15 yr. units			
	1	2	.	.	.	10	1	2	3	
	I	h	G	F	e	D	C	B	A*	
							c	b	a	
										Male
										Female

*A and a are mutually exclusive; if one is present the other is absent.

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Such a description is hardly adequate for the definition of the complement of a house, though it describes fairly the potential age-sex slots that are there to be filled. We begin with this simply because the description I constructed of fairly readily available observables, namely, age and sex. The difficulty one encounters is that there are further defining properties of such a maximal collection of individuals who live in a house. Our informants will not let us assemble households barely

- 592 on the basis of the age and sex characteristics of the candidates,
nor do they describe house membership in these terms.

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The two principles in terms of which the Aguscaterangeros would describe the membership of the household are rules of relations. The first rule states that members of the house should be lineally related to some one or more other persons in the house through males. The second rule states that: if the first rule does not apply, then the person in the house is a spouse of one such person to whom the first rule does apply. From the diagram, then, we may construct--with the aid of these two rules and the convention that the "over-under twenty" contrast is equivalent to the "with spouse-without spouse" contrast.

1. A is married to a, but either A is dead or a is dead.
2. B is married to b, and B is a lineal descendant of A.
3. C is married to c, and C is a lineal descendant of B.
4. D through I are unmarried siblings and are the lineal descendants of (most probably) C.

This may be expressed in a slightly more convenient manner by the following expression.¹

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¹Capital symbol = male. Small symbol = female. - = married. - = offspring. o = sibling. Slash through letter = deceased. Slash between letters = no relation expressed between letters.

See A. K. Romney's forthcoming work on this subject.

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1. $A = a$, but $\bar{A}$ or $\bar{a}$.
2. $B = b$, and $A = a - B$.
3. $C = c$, and $B = b - c$.
3. $(D o e o F o G o h o I)$ and $C = c - (D . . . I)$.

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: $A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I)$.

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The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married

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siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.

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Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

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562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

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586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
[768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er)
moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively,
the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

591 These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
● 592 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

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A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

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I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

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Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

Traditional Economic Activities

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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 liters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who [198]
did not own such land, "got smart" and refused to work. [423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
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[462] vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to the fields and degrading the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

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782 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

TABLE 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	Activity	Time (after planting)
Šlihk s'ital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ʔiim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sniʔ (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

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782 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean an end to all corn harvests.

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[411] Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

000 bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a
 323 man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a pot-
 462 ter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of
 [593] two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling
 [586] one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pot-
 [461] tery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass
 the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women
 who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have
 tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its infe-
 rior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighbor-
 ing towns, the women of Tzo'ontahal usually do not accompany their
 husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

323 *Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household
 178 and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribu-
 tion is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in re-
 sponse to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into
 large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappear-
 ing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman
 who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid
 work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had
 a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ash-
 trays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ash-
 tray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, pre-
 sumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962-1963) has pointed out
 [171] that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be
 [156] accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms,
 and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzo'ontahal.

317 The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in
 592 firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills
 [323] on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy
 [423] season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is
 found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women
 of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of
 [482] five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty
 pounds which they carry in a net bag on their
 backs with a tumpline.

$\frac{1}{2}$ (see plates following p.198..Analyst)

323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
 [313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
 [372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
 [462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of
 pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
 [476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the
 [292] household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the
 women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots
 are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in
 net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
 177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
 323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
 372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while
 most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the pro-
 posal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
 442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
 443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
 494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of
 Teopisca to contract for delivery.

• 592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
 323 ing factors:
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1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.

[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because
 of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women
 are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week
 (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when
 asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
 year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty
 [887] do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist
 in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and
 handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay.
 A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

THE MOTIVATION TO PRODUCE

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

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434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
 464 did,⁵ since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
 427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
 241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
 434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

- 434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
 • 592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
 (241) need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the
 crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half
 hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of pri-
 vately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they
 grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot
 country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field.
 The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965
 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addi-
 tion to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop,
 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
 wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
 daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
 pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in
 the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of re-
 corded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their
 budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82
 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

[583] The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
 his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was
 carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos,
 toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
 expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
 in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period
 recorded, earning 840 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160
 pesos for agricultural work for other families.
 5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size
 of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to
 market prices for crops or rents.
 in the village.

Traditional Economic Activities

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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

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 • 592 irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

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 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as *mu?* and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as *b'al* and women classify them as *ha?wan*. Parents-in-law are referred to as *ta? ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal	Collateral
+1		Nial <u>Tar</u>	Nial Me?
-1	Bal	(Hmamal) Kinam	Mu?
	Kihtr'in		

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al*, using the combined
796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate
794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still
174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or
592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms
197 *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The *yermanotak* is comprised
192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from
the Spanish *hermanos*; *kumparetak*, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

Family Authority and Community Control

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The me'iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

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THE HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

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The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged

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In the Eyes of the Ancestors

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[192] parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to as *k'ol*, the last one.

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182 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

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434 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

TABLE 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958-1964

Family type	<i>Alannantik</i>		<i>Ah'k'olnantik</i>		Total	
	No. of families	Percent of total families	No. of families	Percent of total families	No. of families	Percent of total families
Remained the same						
Nuclear	49	76	38	57	87	67
Virilocal	7	11	11	16	18	14
Uxorilocal	4	6	7	11	11	9
Joint sib	1	2	1	2	2	1
Grandparent-grandchild	1	2	2	3	3	2
Incomplete	2	3	7	11	9	7
Total	64	100	66	100	130	100
Percent of all families		44		34		39
New families created						
Nuclear	16	89	48	88	64	88
Uxorilocal	1	5.5	1	2	2	3
Incomplete	1	5.5	6	10	7	9
Total	18	100	55	100	73	100
Percent of all families		12		28		21
Families which changed *	64	44	74	38	138	40
Total number of families	146	100	195	100	341	100

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.



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Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxoriocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

TABLE 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958-1964

Family type	<i>Alannantik</i>		<i>Ahk'olnantik</i>		Total	
	No. of families	Percent of total families	No. of families	Percent of total families	No. of families	Percent of total families
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	12	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

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Family type	Alannantik		Ahk'olnantik		Total	
	No. of families	Percent of total families	No. of families	Percent of total families	No. of families	Percent of total families
Change to uxori-local from						
Nuclear	4	6	4	5	8	6
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1
Joint sib			1	1.5	1	.7
Grandparent-grandchild			1	1.5	1	.7
Incomplete			1	1.5	1	.7
Unknown			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	5	8	9	12.5	14	10
Change to joint sib from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	.7
Virilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Uxorilocal			1	1.5	1	.7
Total	1	2	2	3	3	2
Change to grandparent-grandchild from						
Nuclear			1	1.5	1	.7
Total			1	1.5	1	.7
Change to incomplete from						
Nuclear	8	12	4	5	12	9
Virilocal	1	2	1	1.5	2	1.4
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1.5	3	2
Joint sib	1	2			1	1
Unknown			2	3	2	1.4
Total	12	19	8	11	20	15
Change to disintegrated from						
Nuclear	11	17	10	14	21	15
Virilocal	2	3			2	1.4
Uxorilocal			2	3	2	1.4
Grandparent-grandchild			2	3	2	1.4
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	14	22	18	25	32	23
Change to avunculocal from						
Nuclear	1	2			1	1
Total	64	100	74	100	138	100

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TABLE 17. Choice Made in Response to Changes in Constitution of Family

<i>Individuals with change in status</i>	<i>Lives with parents</i>	<i>Lives with children in same house</i>	<i>Lives with in-laws</i>	<i>Lives with married child</i>	<i>Lives alone</i>	<i>Children of first marriage live with him/her</i>	<i>Children live with his/her parents</i>	<i>Moved to barrio</i>	<i>Moved to another town</i>	<i>Total</i>
Woman separated	6						1			7
Man separated	2									2
Widowed woman	1	14	3	2	1			4	1	26
Widowed man		3		1					1	5
Man remarried	1		1			1		1		4
Woman remarried	1	1				4	1		2	9
Total	11	18	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	53

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- 592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
591 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be
economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental
household with his or her children, or they may move in with married sib-
lings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the
surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not
the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the
prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first cen-
sus, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were bro-
ken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the
death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index
both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the
necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958-1964

Conjugal status	Alannantik	Ahk'olnantik	Total
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

Family Authority and Community Control

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BEHAVIOR DEFINED IN THE FAMILY

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *l'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yo?tan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the household, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

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857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not
[323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi-
[312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in
every other block of the town, and to de grain corn, tend the fire as the
nixtamal, or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother
grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is
exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child:
the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The
close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes
[592] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative
[462] tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six
and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the
work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for
the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of
[411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats
[262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the
868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers
241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The fol-
lowing reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been
brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,
868 when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,
241 saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you
do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work,
"Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little
corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it
was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going
to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do
two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to
school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you
know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along
with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

Family Authority and Community Control

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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

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Rituals of Life Crisis

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In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.¹

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme'ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

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Roles, Persons, and Performance

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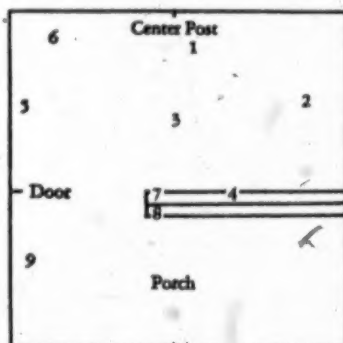
does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not
only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered
to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have diffi-
culty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592 •
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-exten- 782
ded relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to
sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me'il k'op is se-
lected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She ac-
quires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik
are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from
among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order
between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—de-
pends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater author-
ity.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nic'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior
post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [156]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger
was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*).
The term *me'il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
me'il k'op (woman speaker) and *me'il t'om* (mother of the betrothal). 562

342 women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is referred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertaining guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

- 592 Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sitting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

342 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the

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876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication.

Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The [875] teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games
524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the L- [563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activities,
561 ties, the following features emerge:

- 554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house,
- [592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger.
- [562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co-
- [621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power
- [875] is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church,
- [794] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not
- been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships
- between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking
- system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused inter-
action is predominant in the school, where order and control are based
on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communities are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group.

• [592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

8: Hunt E-4.5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

128

Introduction

Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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[621] Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

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462 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household self-sufficient the whole year around.

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868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the techniques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

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434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover, if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Puilitic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 3.)

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462 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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Sample: 68 Households

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	Men	Per Cent
A:		
Never	12	17
Pujiltik (sugar cane plantation)	49	71
Fincas	5	3
Carretera Construction: (1 month)	2	7
Mapite (school teacher for the INI): (2 1/2 years)	1	1
Yerba Santa	1	1
Total	70	100
B: Period of work in Pujiltik:		
1 week	29	
2 weeks	15	
3 weeks	2	
1 month	1	
Unknown	2	
C: Period of work in Fincas:		
1 month	2	
2 months	1	
5 months	1	
3 years	1	
D: Status:		
Household Head	41	
Son of household head	15	
Da. Son of household head	2	
Total	58	
II. A:	Women	
San Cristobal	12	
Teopisca	2	
B: Period of Work:		
From 3 weeks to 3 years.		
Average: 12 months.		
C: Status:		
Widow	2	
Divorcee	1	
Single	11	

Fig. 5.--Migratory Labor in Aguacatenango

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the sacudrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the har-
monics, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policia). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
561 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
601 ficers in lower and higher posts.

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's
wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are
Mavordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A
man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other
adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the
officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to
562 plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when
462 to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he
592 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his
593 father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single
562 talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated
by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is
married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and
husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 The eldest woman in the household has authority over the
593 younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-
562 law, because during the period in which a married man resides with
[606] his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct
authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the
[251] food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored
in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the
meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger
women in the homestead.

592 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home.
593 They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the
434 husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash
562 which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables
that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on
some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something
similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers,
562 and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a
mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some
authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
572 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
584 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the
second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house,
saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling
trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to
give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them,
she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted
because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should
give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
584 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder
women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women
(perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother),
and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
572 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the
606

592 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates
606 this social ordering:

159 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman mar-
591 ried to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan
592 Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage,
(428) with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's hus-
band. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until
the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the in-
heritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to
support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to
592 sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who
437 was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it
602 than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and
Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was
visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with
him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was al-
ready arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She
discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her
sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the dis-
cussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the
interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of fire-
wood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and
daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Cracencia

159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
437 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to
602 let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was
going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

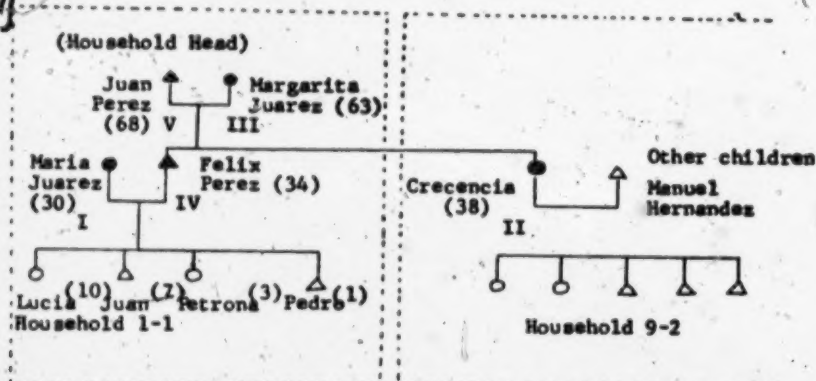


Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to realize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell
• 592 the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.
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A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that Maria had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.¹

592 A woman living with her husband in a separate household
593 has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her
562 husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow
421 when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is
(931) simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural imple-
ments. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except
in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for
her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's
father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her
[851] position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige
in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her
marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her
interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

[231]
[421]
[562] ¹The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de Maria (Maria's pig) means the pig which Maria has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

• 592
593 her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle
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421 some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

562 But even under the best conditions, the position of a
593 woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband
gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but
accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that
once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not
593 asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real
586 way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, run-
837 ning away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or
breaking up the marriage.

184 In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation
562 is quite different. First, women are economically independent,
434 being able to make a living without a male in the household.
592
421 Second, they control the profits made by the household from the
sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes
which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the
house in which they live with their husband and children. They
contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the
whole domestic group while they were living in their family's
home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle,
a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women
and their male siblings.

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593 Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for
[837] both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to
order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

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184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more auton-
omous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe
a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to
obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people
believe that women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or
power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting
statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different
conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic
group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of
household personnel. Membership in a household implies both
(1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit,
and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at
crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status
give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a par-
ticular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the
two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the
household, it changes membership and how particular individuals,
according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection
and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLD

Definition

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591 The life of the people of Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be seen as extending in overlapping circles which have a social as well as spatial dimension.

592 The most important of these circles is the domestic group. The domestic group, or independent household, is the basic unit of the social organization, and is the core of the economic, political, and moral life of the villager.

The households are economically independent units, the basic unit that controls production and consumption for the village, and therefore, the primary unit for the recruitment of labor. It is within the household that young community members are socialized. It is the place where adults find the primary focus of social activity and interaction, their most enduring and important emotional ties, and the center of their cultural values. As a child, a person learns work from the other people of the same sex who live in his domestic unit. As an adult, he shares with them his labor, his wealth, his worries and his moments of pleasure. In a sense, all that is important for the individual in his lifetime is centered in his household. There, most of his

592 decisions are made, most of his life conflicts created and solved.

Basically, it is as a member of a particular household that a person relates to people living outside his home. There is no more unhappy position for a person than being an "orphan," a person without relatives who can give him a home.

Moreover, the household functions as a political unit, being the unit of recruitment of personnel for the larger institutions of the village, such as the local government.

Physical Setting

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The domestic territory is the sitio: the land and buildings of a single household. The boundaries of this residential site are delimited by a low fence and a gate facing one street. The fence is made of pickets tied with maguey rope or of thorny branches. The sitio entrance from the street is a trance, a gate made of two large, sliding, horizontal poles attached to a short, vertical column on each side.

The fences and gates are important social symbols, delimiting the territory of the domestic group which resides in it. When a household splits into two separate domestic groups, but keeps on sharing the same original sitio, a new fence is built between them. Occasionally, this fence will not be built for a period of time, but the two domestic groups will build separate living quarters and separate cook-houses. Even then, the households will have their territory within the sitio clearly delimited, if not fenced. In any case, a new gate is opened, symbolizing the independence of the families living within the sitio.

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[578]

When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

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592[343]
[342]

[241]

[415]

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[343]

Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), the sweat bath, etc.

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The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

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The building of a new house is an important social event
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
591 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one
or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have
become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
591 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in
it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A
very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man
house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and can-
not buy materials for building a better place. The house also
tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his fam-
ily are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how
much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to
him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in
[177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much
"ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with
ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms,
windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is
not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
527 ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
1782 and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation
of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification
between people and their homestead.

342 because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of dis-
753 turbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not
578 only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for
the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests.
As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious,
the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people
and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a
daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering
from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing
ceremony, the sick misbehavior has to be instructed about her
duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the mis-
demeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is
not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the
building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented.
This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of
normal social relations between the individuals living in the
house, and between the individuals and their material projection,
their house.

592 The people living in a household are in charge of per-
788 forming some other rituals which are expected to insure the wel-
fare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in
the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed
religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other
things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases),
double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored
maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

592
778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

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778 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according
769 to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the
342 spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

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769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living
769 relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[794] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

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769 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to
342 their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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764 • People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

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184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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• 592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households.

The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

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592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

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The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

585 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and
183 a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from
593 her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her
606 mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she
should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-
law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the
household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family
too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law
instead of with her mother.¹ The ceremony indicates two things:
[581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from
her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new
role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of
a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-
in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the
household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under
885 trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife,
[851] and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is re-
placed by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a
wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both
economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has
complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible
for his son's misdeeds.²

[583] ¹One of my informants tells me that although she was robada
by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she ar-
rived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a
shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is
a common practice.

• [592] ²If a young man commits a crime while living under his
[672] father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for
paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

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885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a fat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

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591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

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[582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h)
[593]
[428] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have
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606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.¹

• [592] ¹When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

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[583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

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888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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- [592] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio [591] without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they [606] still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

593 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of
888 son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an
[183] established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for
888 a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [626] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [736] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old? . . ."

592 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,
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592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the
patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor.
To this core of men are attached their children and their wives,
all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter,
and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters
of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each contain-
ing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons.
At the same time, one would find out that women, because they
follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic
relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced
together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired,
are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and
effort of building interior separations between the plots, because
the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels
and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
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TABLE 7

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED
COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old
Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

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[582]

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of confidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically related men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

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Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

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A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

[606]

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying, will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

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602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting
a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both
pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to
pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on pay-
ing half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's
compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility
for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

• 592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which
a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at
the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown
into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom
she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is
an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
912 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
562 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the
606 role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, es-
pecially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one
with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956],
Mills [1954] , for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalition).
In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women,
the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
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606 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds himself between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

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757 Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her husband's household does not. The change of residence at the time of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

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432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
[428] is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
over the property if there are no mature sons left by the de-
ceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and
will move to their natal households with their children. Some
sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The
selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting
inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights
to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the
money obtained would be divided among them.

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598 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of
behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms
of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an
unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural
ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maxi-
mize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase
production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a
relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son
leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings
under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which,
in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to
avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard
of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593]

This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far
away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town
is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of
each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to
households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights.
Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval
of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct
rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of
other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what conse-
quences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that
it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

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578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
(621) could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
[423] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
[476] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young
man is residing, and they also risk the concomitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
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[593] common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a com-
modity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some
few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell.
Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary
exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cul-
tural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for
wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps
milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn
and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the cus-
tomary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
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156 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the
ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. There-
fore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he
has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity
which allows him to do so.

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621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

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606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of [313] her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

000 firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

462 Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women

313 usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, ex-

606 changing news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking

592 while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the

[626] women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

562 Women look upon having their own homestead as the only so-

592 lution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they

885 are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own

[574] decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to

[572] visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a

[606] habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

592 We can see, then, that there are several factors which

578 provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household.

The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

592 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, how-
578 ever, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by
the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in excep-
tional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents'
house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential
change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict
[626] between the women. People say that they moved "because the two
women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case
of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated
by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions
between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with
them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to
help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of
the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society.
A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his
father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him
vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is
593 expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women
578 rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her
606 daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group
residing in the household, the hoy ta yutil hna (of the same blood
who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed
by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group,
while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the
same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

- 592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
 593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
 598 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
 606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

Residence Patterns for Unmarried People

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593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

591/736 patrilocality at a young age, just as filiallocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filiallocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

- (586) Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the
- 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When
- 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from
- (183) previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the
- (601) child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

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[601]
[183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

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[428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

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426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
• 592 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
423
(426)proval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of
town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment.
"Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583]dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave
town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which
followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try
to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we
can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of
a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence
of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an
orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied
because they disapproved of the marriage).

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167 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town
boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the
edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are
inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated
from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the
agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the
village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we
had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases
which could not be counted in the statistics because they were
part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

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132

125 the village any more. Those cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple
593 moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the
183 brother was an elder who jorally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indica-
183 tion of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses
592 for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young
583 husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by
606 working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

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the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple will move to another house after the temporary service period.

If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making

[428]

(see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike

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Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

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The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556]

"A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle"

[693]

[592]

(Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that

if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the house-

[582]

hold labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

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592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILLOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOLOCALITY
IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS^a

	Virilocal		Uxorilocal	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart	20	18	18	16
Other immature children living with parents	20	18	15	13
Other married siblings living in the same <u>sitio</u>	7	6	9	8
Lives in own house in compound <u>sitio</u> with parents	10	8	15	13
Total	57	50	57	50

^aAfter Nash, J., 1960.

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361 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

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[432] The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the
[184] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are
somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of
agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to
the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately
16 per cent of land transactions. The

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limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal
cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land hold-
ings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones
... of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households
can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those
households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult
son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest.
Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooper-
ation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of
women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increas-
ing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer
produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money
is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquir-
ing cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are
currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly.
Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven
or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of
pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery
was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl
was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans
Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery
was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are con-
tracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time
they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to work-
ing with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress
put on their remaining in or near their parental home after
marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).¹

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The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period
in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular
habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman
from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that
there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would
be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

[161] ¹It is also important to notice that with the increase in
population over the area, the market has increased.

592 takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28)

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323 at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production.

[582] At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

592 Pottery production as a source of income is not equally

434 important for all households. (1) Households with more children

433 produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery

323 making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman:

pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best

distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work

at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because

alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family

subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with

more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to

work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to gov-

ernment Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer house-

holds (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa

raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous

cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect:

richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive;

with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery."

"Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have

fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of

little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

000 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

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591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
323 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
434 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home
361 after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxori-local resi-
dence and matrilocality of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neigh-
borhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
361 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
591 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was
434 hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matri-
local proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth
(which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and
residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is sta-
tistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
434 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are
464 forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work
in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypothesis is
confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of
confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
591 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

-184
589 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
591 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household
heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
[768] to be able to support herself and the children because she is
able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-
law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income
derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Agua-
catenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from
agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no house-
holds without men, nor households in which a female is the ab-
solute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

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574 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his
father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-price. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

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434 In /matenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keeping her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

582
111 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

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173

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activi-
592 ties are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of
562 course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said
602 to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the
592 people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the
241 two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization
433 of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is
182 not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters
591 within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting
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323 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the
241 originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could
433 be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in
182 Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel
591 along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.
621

114 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango
602 as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that
182 kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles
361 of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one
hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the indi-
vidual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments,
both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if
they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are),
both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so
that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity,
although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects.
Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve
immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively with-
out reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone
certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash,
J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If
residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral
lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to em-
phasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally
organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements,
or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

602 Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality,
613 but corporate patriline. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form
592 localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the
551 localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people
621 belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with
174 Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in
613 the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate),
551 but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

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736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in
trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which orig-
inally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sib-
ling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
• 592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics
as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations
in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time
for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and
(4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly
restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong
lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations
in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time
for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and
maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest
rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives
within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959,
unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patriline to dis-
tinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups com-
mon in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack
of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
592 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
178 contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
[593] household property. There have been several cases in which
brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the
people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in
the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new
parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic
lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards
one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder
sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship
is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give
each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some
aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the com-
munity at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950:
90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same
sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

593 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimo-
578 geniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture.
538

The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's
• 592 death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of
593 the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture.
But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death,
his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In
this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's
support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal in-
heritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land,
cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 The "rules of the game"¹ are, in the second case, not as
428 explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of
592 behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of
593 the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his
[591] wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be com-
[583] pensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported
him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the prop-
erty, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the
money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament
578

¹That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428
578 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592
593 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
554 woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
428 works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the
434 household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

OOO village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and
156 the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of
Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody
and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
562 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following
428 example will also show.
578

Case 2

159 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present
428 one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land
562 with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When
578 Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed
rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son
was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay
for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with
• [592] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already
[606] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se
[587] fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's
milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law
took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was
born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he
is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally
had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

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Household 24-7

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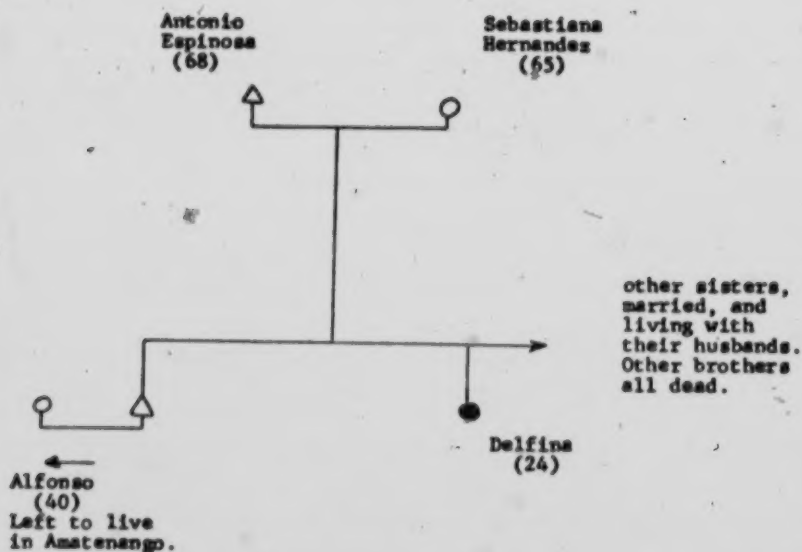


Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

177 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
178 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
754 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual ac-
776 tivities performed by the lineage as a corporation became mean-
613 ingless, and fell out of use.

592 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
613 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
434 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
421 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength.
578 Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to
discriminate between the part of the household income that is de-
rived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that
which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are
derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided
tools and implements, and finally those which come from his ca-
pacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences
in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food con-
trolled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between
the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their
common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
594 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its
578 occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fis-
sion of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disap-
pearance of the household itself.

178 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
613 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

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Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

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The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or functions.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

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182 of the economic system play a very important part in the structur-
591 ing of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic
184 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been
241 assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of
323 social behavior are:
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(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

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592 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners
564 and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village
434 (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
434 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
[422] marginal property.
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man's labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is
alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males
and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[225] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the do-
mestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital
patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
75 own kin rather than her husband's.

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
598 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
591 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few
613 collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango resi-
476 dence for individuals, interaction between households and the
settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in
Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The
type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, cor-
relates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built
562 around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal
residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear
family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All
other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the
father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one
generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic
order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized
agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the prin-
ciple of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy
based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

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59 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral
422 fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958:
562 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

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59 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the
592 nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter
562 being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic
[428] group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time,
from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group
of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bi-
lateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of
utrolateral ultimogeniture..

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182 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units
591 of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the
592 rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

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591 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred
562 over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of
the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically
capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as
often as males.

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591 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred
562 over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women,
402 while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as mar-
ried women do, under certain conditions.

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591 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is pre-
602 ferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain eco-
nomic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

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591 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and
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602 maternal relatives are equally good choices.

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736 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of sup-
591 porting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they
434 choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while
in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own
domestic groups.

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621 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is
582 preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In
591 Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by metri-
uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which
results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their
own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in
Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation
of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are
transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

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621 The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship
602 produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages.
• [592] In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of ag-
natically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed
[613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a
[562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized
agnatic groups, which I call localized patriline, with few non-
relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a
man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his
neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after
184 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and
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621 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born,
591 or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we
591 had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer
did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error
of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of
kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage
sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms
of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among
kinmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for
121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing
128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it
602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as
Amatenango.

128 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add
602 three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the
591 sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation
582 of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently
561 of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship con-
571 nection with the person being sponsored.

184 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or
591 Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his
592 rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, de-
pending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in
Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through
descent and women after marriage only through affinity, in

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Aguacatenango

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184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in

591 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate
592 choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
571 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
181 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between
602 individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the
structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are ex-
pressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices
simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made
within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the do-
mestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important
functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the fol-
lowing in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position
of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of
the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the
unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament
and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other;
(5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement
of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for
psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and
621 organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence
choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of
592 households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive
621 kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus
the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial
endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango,
and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system
of production does not seem to affect the structuring of rela-
tionships at a level higher than the household and the particular
type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of
each village.

184 The position of women for the village at large is very
562 similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango
women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to
the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango
nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to
roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the
anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the
economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in
the hands of the males of a society.

182 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the
571 interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure
602 is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of be-
havior, which are economic choices in their immediate context,
are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First,
the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alterna-
tives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[591] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It
[602] tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a
combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology
and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the
multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how
its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multi-
variable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack
of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable
to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-
price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective
data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for
a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions be-
tween siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic
unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
128 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
114 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the
129 equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than
superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my
inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the
same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3. [621*]
[571]
[602]

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.⁶ She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanchetik*.⁷ These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices—at least those of *alferes* and first *regidor*—and who are somehow related to the new official.⁸ A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,⁹ sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ikoltawanchetik*, the fe- [621*]
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⁶ Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

⁷ The term *nakawanchetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (LaFarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanchetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.' [193]

⁸ In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *notawane*.

⁹ The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors. [601]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzo²ontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *me²il k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *ni²anil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alan²nantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *pat²ot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'⁹ are the 'old officials' (*k'a hu'eletik*) along with the alferoces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' (*sp'is sni²ik*), as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alferoces have delivered from the church.

⁹ Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiché word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiché formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

as a team. Thus the junior (*ni'anil*) and senior (*tatil*) officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders

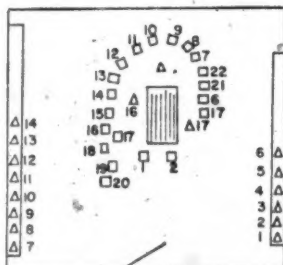


CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on *alferez* assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

[P. 220-A]

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

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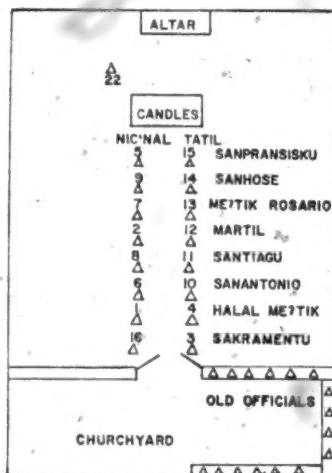


CHART 15 - NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

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